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MAJMA'-UL-BAḤRAIN.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION.

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MAJMA'-UL-BAḤRAIN

OR

THE MINGLING OF THE TWO OCEANS

BY

PRINCE MUḤAMMAD DĀRĀ SHIKŪH.

EDITED IN THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN

WITH

ENGLISH TRANSLATION, NOTES AND VARIANTS

BY

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FOREWORD.

The 'science of religion' has in the last fifty years developed and progressed in many ways. We have the comparative, the historical, the sociological and the psychological methods. Of late a new school has arisen which is well-exemplified by its forerunner James (*Varieties of religious Experience*), and latterly by Otto (*Das Heilige* and *Die Religionen*), a school which relegates history and philology to the background to concentrate in the first place on the religious experience itself. Pratt in his recent work *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism* applies the principle in a practical way and rightly says: "To give the feeling of an alien religion it is necessary to do more than expound its concepts and describe its history. One must catch its emotional undertone, enter sympathetically into its sentiments, feel one's way into its symbols, its cult, its art, and then seek to impart these things not merely by scientific exposition but in all sorts of indirect ways." *Non scholae sed vitae* is the motto of this school.

Nevertheless, history and philology will remain indispensable accessories. And also in the historical method there is development and subdivision. A group of phenomena of great interest and importance, but scarcely as yet touched upon, is the one furnished by what may be called the symbiotics of religion. In Europe, the confluence of paganism and Christianity has submerged all paganism without destroying it. In Java, the confluence of Indonesian animism, Hinduism and Islam has produced a doctrinal, terminological and sentimental complex which is difficult to analyse and is an example of permeation without suppression. In China, Confucianism and Buddhism have remained unmixed side by side, whilst Buddhism has intimately influenced Taoism, chiefly in the popular strata. In India, likewise, Hinduism and Islam have remained oil and water, though a subtle influence has perhaps been exercised upon later Islamic mysticism and magic by the surrounding Hindu atmosphere. On the contrary the purely artificial individual endeavours of an Akbar and a Dārā Shikūh to introduce Hindu thought and speculation into Persian literature have remained almost completely isolated and sterile. A little literary theological island has been created which has remained uninhabited and from which no travellers have undertaken further voyages into the world of Islām. The rich and fertile results of the introduction of Greek thought into the Arabic and the mediaeval western world is in this instance counterbalanced by an entire lack of consequences, and the effort was still-born. Nevertheless syncretistic and irenistic tendencies are always interesting and deserve attention. The sharply defined and definitely circumscribed literary activity of the few notable Muhammadans who have sought to transplant Indian thought into the Islamic world is of such a nature and moreover connected with incidents of human and dramatic value.

It is difficult to decide where to begin in this study: with the artificial endeavours of rulers like Akbar or Dārā Shikūh or with those of humbler mystics without autocratic influence. One might either

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prefer to approach the problem through translations such as the Persian translation of the Upanisads or through systematic treatises such as the one that forms the subject of the present volume. The whole subject has been scarcely touched. Speyer in his *De Indische Theosophie* has in one of his chapters dealt with the influence of Indian theosophy on the West and has shortly spoken about Kabir, the Sikhs, Akbar, and Ram Mohan Roy. De Massignon has recently published and translated the conversations between Dārā Shikūh and Bābā Lāl Dās. 'Abdul Wali has dealt with the relations between Dārā Shikūh and Sarmad (*Journal*, A.S.B., Vol. XX). The most fundamental discussion, however, hitherto, of Indian influence on Muhammadan mysticism seems M. Horten's *Indische Strömungen in der islamischen Mystik* (Heidelberg 1927 and 1928). The two parts of the work contain ample bibliographical references.

Now Professor Mahfuz-ul-Haq comes, in the present publication, with a contribution of singular interest for this subject. It is not that this "Mingling of the two Oceans" proves to be a book of deep insight or great spirituality. On the contrary, it seems 'poor in spirit' and largely verbal. But it gives us a starting point. From this little book we can work backwards and forwards. It is an apt focus for further research.

Professor Haq, by his painstaking translation, and by the fullness of his annotation, has deserved well of his readers and has made easy the task of students in this particular field who may be neither Sanskritists nor Persianists. Above all, by his careful and straightforward work he has taken away a false glamour with which the tragic death of its author had endowed the booklet as long as it remained sealed. But in this connection a word of caution suggests itself. We feel that the absence of the glow of true inspiration in the treatise is obvious. But is this poverty of quality a true measure of Dārā's attitude and endowments? From other data known concerning him it is legitimate to regard this question as one open to a certain measure of doubt. Have we not rather to esteem the matter-of-fact substance and the terminological comparisons of the treatise not as the measure of his vision but as the measure of his prudence? After all he was executed as a heretic. Could he in his time and in his circumstances have said more than he did in this work without danger of dire consequences? All these are matters of speculation, but of great human interest. We shall only know for certain when his whole *œuvre* is made accessible to us, and we are grateful to Professor Haq for having made a beginning. Dārā Shikūh, whether he was great of soul or only an aristocratic but small dabbler in great things, will remain a tragic figure in human history. As the last continuator of a short line of activity begun by his great-grandfather, the great Akbar, he is also an historical figure in the development of Indian thought. For all these and many other reasons we welcome the present work in which from beyond the gulf of death the voice of Hindu-Muslim Unity has been given life again, insistent, sincere, and tragic.

CALCUTTA:
15*th May*, 1929.

JOHAN VAN MANEN.

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IMPORTANT ERRATUM.

All page numbers given in the margins on p. 78 of the work (p. 2 of Section III, Text) and on pp. 117-128 of the work (pp. 1-12 of Section IV, Variants) should be increased by 2, as by an oversight the page numbers of the title leaves of the two sections have not been taken into account. Owners are advised to make the necessary corrections in their copies.

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TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION.

ا	ā.	ض	ḍ.
ث	th.	ط	ṭ.
چ	ch.	ظ	ẓ.
ح	ḥ.	ع	‘a,‘i,‘u.
خ	kh.	غ ..	gh.
ذ	dh.	ق	ḳ.
ز	z.	و	ū.
ژ	zh.	ء	’a,’i,’u.
ش	sh.	ی ..	ī, y.
ص	ṣ.		

ERRATA.

p. 3, l. 3	*For*	Ḳandhār	*read*	Ḳandahār.
p. 11, l. 17	,,	*Shath*	,,	*Shaṭh*.
p. 11, l. 34	,,	Rūzbahān	,,	Rūzbihān.
p. 12, l. 4	,,	pp. xxx–xxxiii	,,	pp. 30–33.
p. 21, l. 28	,,	See (	,,	(See
p. 23, l. 29	,,	Ḳandhār	,,	Ḳandahār.
p. 33, l. 13	,,	page 5	,,	page (III. 7) 83.
p. 39, l. 35	,,	See p. 6, n I	,,	See p. 8, n. I.
p. 40, l. 36	,,	*Rasa*	,,	10 *Rasa*.
p. 47, l. 16	,,	(*Āwz*) *ā*	,,	(*Āwāz*).
p. 48, l. 10	,,	*Dhamma*	,,	*Ḍamma*.
p. 51, l. 11	,,	*ruyat*	,,	*rūyat*.
p. 53, ll. 20, 21	,,	Ghaffārī	,,	Ghifārī.
p. 55, l. 14	,,	(Path) *ā*	,,	(Path).
p. 60, l. 35	,,	p. 13	,,	p. 49.
p. 97, l. 10	,,	اِنّی راہُ	,,	اَنَا اَرَاہُ
p. 98, ll. 16, 17	,,	غفّاری	,,	غِفاری

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INTRODUCTION.

Dārā Shikūh, the author of the present work, was born at Ajmīr, (Monday night, the 29th Ṣafar, 1024 A.H.),[1] the city hallowed by the memory of the great mystic, Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī, whose tomb there has, for centuries past, been visited by the devoted followers of the Prophet. Dārā's father, Shāhjahān, had also frequented the tomb of the celebrated saint and prayed earnestly for the birth of a son, for his two eldest children had been daughters.[2] The prayer was accepted, as it is said, and Dārā's birth was naturally hailed with the outburst of feelings of joy by his devoted parents.

The prince himself records the circumstances attending his birth, while noticing the life of Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī, in his *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā*:[3]

"And this *faḳīr* was born in the suburbs of Ajmīr, by the (lake of) Sāgar Tāl, on the last day of Ṣafar, Monday midnight, 1024 A.H. As in the house of my respected father three daughters had been born and there were no male issues and (as) the age of His Majesty had reached twenty-four, he, on account of the faith and devotion that he had for the Khwāja (i.e. Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī) prayed, with thousand presentations and supplications, for the birth of a son. And with His grace God, the Most High, brought this meanest slave of his (i.e. Dārā Shikūh) into existence who hopes that He will grant him the grace of doing good and will bring to his host His goodwill and that of His friends. *Āmīn*, Oh, Lord of the world." Thus, it is a happy coincidence that Dārā who was born at the city of a great mystic and divine turned out to be a devout Ṣūfī and a 'man of the Path' throughout his life.

Early Life.

We know very little about Dārā's early life, for the Mughal historians, who have primarily been the chroniclers of the political events occurring in the State, give us very scanty information on the subject,

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1 *Bādshāhnāma* (Bib. Ind.), Vol. I, Part i, p. 391; *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* (Bib. Ind.), Vol. I, p. 92.

2 Ḥūr Nisā Begam (b. 8th Ṣafar, 1022 A.H., and d. 4th Rabī' II, 1025 A.H.), and Jahān Ārā Begam (b. 21st Ṣafar, 1023 A.H. and d. Ramaḍān, 1092 A.H.).

3 Nawal Kishūr Edition, p. 94.

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and the first glimpse that we get of him is at the time when he is handed over to Jahāngīr[1] as a hostage on behalf of his rebel father, Khurram, and jealously guarded by his step-grandmother, Nūr Jahān. Dārā was detained at Lahore up to the date of Shāhjahān's accession (1037 A.H.=1627 A.D.).[2] When Dārā Shikūh returned to Āgra he was about 13 years old and it must have been about this time that Shāhjahān would have given earnest and serious attention to imparting higher education to him. But there is nothing on record, so far as I know, to show how far Dārā Shikūh had progressed in his studies and what special endeavours had been made by his father to educate him in accordance with the best traditions of the Mughals. What the Court Historians inform us of is not about the progress made by Dārā in his study of Philosophy[3] or Caligraphy but of the showering of royal favours, in the form of presents and gifts and promotions in official rank, etc. But we must confess that such matters can hardly interest us. They can only be used profitably by a chronicler of Dārā's political history and not by one who aims at tracing the literary attainments of this illustrious prince. So, I am constrained to pass over the many unimportant events recorded in the official and non-official histories of the reigns of Shāhjahān and Aurangzīb, and would only make a passing reference to some of the more important ones.

Dārā, as is generally known, was the most loved child of Shāhjahān and, as such, the Emperor did not like to lose his company by sending him to distant provinces. The other princes, Shujā', Murād and Aurangzīb, were sent out as provincial governors but Dārā, "the eldest child of the Khilāfat," was kept at the Imperial Court, under the very eyes of his fond father who was unwilling to part company with him. This excess of love was unfortunate in two ways: it aroused the jealousy of the other princes and shut out Dārā from gaining first-hand experience as a soldier and an administrator. Undoubtedly, he was appointed

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[1] Dārā was handed over, along with Aurangzīb, to Jahāngīr in June, 1626 A.D., *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, Vol. I, p. 377; *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* ('Alīgaṛh, 1864,) p. 391; Beni Prasad's *Jahangir*, p. 394.

[2] Dārā Shikūh was escorted with Aurangzīb to Āgra and received by the parents on the 1st Rajab, 1037 A.H. (*Bādshāhnāma*, Vol. I, Part i, pp. 177, 178 *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, Vol. I, p. 398.)

[3] We only learn that Mullā Mīrak Harawī was appointed as a tutor of Dārā (*Bādshāhnāma*, Vol. I, Part ii, p. 344; *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā*, p. 47).

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governor of the provinces of Allahabad[1] and the Panjāb,[2] but he was allowed to live at the capital and rule through his agents. This rule by proxy could hardly make him experienced. He also led the Ḳandhār campaign in 1053 A.H.[3] But, from the accounts of the campaign, it is apparent that it was not like an expedition led to a distant land or a march through difficult and perilous territory but rather the triumphant pageant of a victorious general. The expedition was unsuccessful, so was the previous one led by Aurangzīb. But it cannot be denied that Dārā made certain tactical blunders and the over-concern of his father for him hastened his recall;[4] the task being thus left unaccomplished.

It will appear, therefore, that Dārā was more a man of the court than of the camp; but it cannot be denied, at the same time, that he possessed an extraordinary capacity for adaptability. A prince who had passed his days in the luxuries of a most magnificent Mughal court, would have been expected to be utterly hopeless in the field of action; but we find that Dārā can compose himself, he can adjust himself to his environment and can face the frowns of fortune with a dignified countenance and a lofty resignation. In the struggle for succession, which followed the illness of Shāhjahān, in 1067 A.H., Dārā displayed all his latent powers of organisation and generalship; but he was no match for the sun-dried diplomat and general—Aurangzīb. The three brothers Shujā', Aurangzīb and Murād were marching on Āgra with a well-equipped and trained army and Dārā had to face them with all the resources at his disposal. He sent his son Sulaimān Shikūh against Shujā', who was routed and turned back, but, before Sulaimān could come to the rescue of his father, the latter had been defeated by the combined forces of Aurangzīb and Murād, at Samūgaṛh (7th Ramaḍān, 1068 A.H.). The battle of Samūgaṛh sealed the fate of Dārā, who fled to Āgra, thence to Lahore, Multān, Bhakkar, Gujarāt and Cutch. He returned and fought with Aurangzīb but only to be turned back after an ignominious defeat. The flight of Dārā is a very painful episode of suffering, privation and misery. His companions

1 Allahabad and the forts of Rohtas and Janada was given to Dārā on the 1st Jamāda I, 1055 A.H. (*Bādshāhnāma*, Vol. II, p. 424).

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, Vol. II, p. 611.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 291-308.

4 *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, (Bib. Ind.), p. 591.

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deserted him, his best supporters left him and the climax of calamities was reached when Nādira Begam, his dearest and best loved wife, was snatched away by the cruel hand of Death. Dārā presented a miserable figure ; he was a broken man, and resigned himself to the will of God. His sufferings, however, were soon to end. He was captured by Malik Jīwan of Dadar, his Afghān host, and brought to Delhi under the escort of Aurangzīb's generals and paraded through the streets on a large elephant. He underwent a mock trial at the hands of Aurangzīb's *'Ulamā* and was found guilty of apostasy from Islām. The younger brother passed orders for his execution,[1] which was carried out on the night of Wednesday, 21st Dhul Ḥijja,[2] 1069 A.H. So died Dārā, the eldest son of Shāhjahān and the would-be emperor of Hindūstān.

Dārā as an author.

A perusal of the writings of Dārā Shikūh will make it abundantly clear that he had Ṣūfistic leanings from a very early age. He

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[1] For an account of the trial of Dārā Shikūh and the charges brought against him see *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, (Bib. Ind.), p. 4 ; *'Ālamgīrnāma*, (Bib. Ind.), pp. 34–36, in which the charges are enumerated in some detail, and p. 432 where the immediate reasons of the execution are given ; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, (Bib. Ind.), ii, p. 87, in which Dārā is accused of vilifying *Taṣawwuf* ; Manucci, *Sloria Do Mogor*, i, pp. 356–358, gives a very graphic account of the execution but makes the highly incredible statement that Dārā wanted to embrace Christianity in his last moments ; Bernier's account (*Travels*, p. 100), is brief ; J. N. Sarkar (*Aurangzib*, i, pp. 296–299 and ii, pp. 213–219) gives the best account based, among others, on *Tārīkh-i-Shāh Shujā'* of Mīr Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm.

[2] *'Ālamgīrnāma*, (Bib. Ind.), 432. According to *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, (Bib. Ind.), p. 27, Dārā was executed on the night of Thursday, the 21st Dhul Ḥijja ; the author of *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* (Elliott vii, p. 244) records on the 26th Dhul Ḥijja, Khāfī Khān (*Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, ii, p. 87) says that Dārā was executed on the last (*ākhir*) day of Dhul Ḥijja, (i.e. 29th), while Muftī Ghulām Sarwar (*Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiyā*, i, p. 174), records the date of execution on the 1st Muḥarram, 1070 A.H., which is evidently wrong. H. Blochmann (J.A.S.B., xxxix, i, p. 277) accepts the 21st Dhul Ḥijja and says that it was *Tuesday evening*. He observes :—

"The last day (29th Zí Hajjah) of the year 1069 coincides with Wednesday, 7th September, 1659. Hence the 21st Zí Hajjah is Tuesday, 30th August. The Muhammadan Historian says, Dárá was killed on a *Wednesday evening*. This fully agrees with our computation ; for the Muhammadan Wednesday commenced on Tuesday, 6 o'clock P.M."

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had studied the well-known works of the Ṣūfīs of Islām and had examined their contents very closely and minutely. We find him making very apt quotations from the works of the various masters of Ṣūfism and also deducing relevant, but mostly independent, conclusions from the Holy Ḳur'ān and the Traditions of the Prophet. He appears to be independent in his judgment and bold in his conclusions. He does not seem to make a fetish of the stereotyped dogmas nor, necessarily, follows the beaten path. His studies in Ṣūfism lead him to the conclusion that Truth is not the exclusive property of any particular or 'chosen' race but that it can be found in all religions and at all times. But this conclusion was not reached in one day. It was the result of deep study and continued association with the divines of different religions and the Ṣūfīs of various shades of opinion. This gradual development of the mental attitude of Dārā is a very interesting study. His is a mind which advances from the commonplace to the sublime. We can have some idea of this gradual advancement from a perusal of the various works and their contents, a list of which I give here in their chronological order:

1. *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā*, is the first work of Dārā, which he wrote in his 25th year (27th Ramaḍān, 1049 A.H.). He writes in the introduction to this work that he had a particular respect for the Ṣūfīs and the religious divines, and had studied their lives closely but had been disappointed to find that the details of their lives were scattered in the pages of so many different manuscripts. Moreover, as he remarks on p. 12, the dates of the birth and death of many mystics were wanting in the standard biographies of the Ṣūfīs, to wit, the *Nafaḥāt-ul-Uns*, *Tārīḵh-i-Yāfi'ī* and *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Sulṭānī*. So he contrived to compose this work with the distinct object of supplying, within a very short compass, the details regarding the dates of birth and death, the place of burial and other important particulars of the saints of Islām. The extent as well as the conciseness of the work is apparent from the fact that in some 200 pages,[1] Dārā has noticed the lives of about 411 saints and divines, including the Prophet, his wives, the Orthodox Caliphs and the Imāms. The following is a detailed list of the contents of the work:—

[1] The Nawal Kishūr edition (1884) comprises 218 pages.

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1	Prophet Muḥammad, the Caliphs (4), the *three Amīr-ul-Muminīn* and the *Imāms* (18)	1—26
2.	Saints of the *Ḳādirī* order	27—65
3.	Saints of the *Nakshbandī* order	66—94
4.	Saints of the *Chishtī* order	95–119
5.	Saints of the *Kubrawī* order	120–139
6.	Saints of the *Suhrawardī* order	140–159
7.	Saints of the various minor orders	160–377
8.	Wives of the Prophet	378–388
9.	Daughters of the Prophet	389–392
10.	Female mystics	393–417

In the introduction to the work Dārā styles himself, as he has done in most of his later works, *Ḥanafī*, *Ḳādirī*, namely, a follower of Imām Abū Ḥanīfa and a *Murīd* of the order which owes its origin to Shaikh 'Abdul Ḳādir of Gīlān, and concludes by hoping that his (*i e.* Dārā's) future may be happy through the grace of the many divines and mystics whose lives he has noticed in this work.

2. *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā.*—This is Dārā's second work which he wrote in his 28th year (p. 134),[1] in 1052 A.H. (p. 6), dealing with the biography of Mīyān Mīr, or Mīyān Jīv, the spiritual guide of his *Pīr* and *Murshid*, Mullā Shāh,[2] called *Lisānullāh*, and his many disciples. Dārā Shikūh writes in the introduction to this work that on a certain Thursday, in the 24th year of his life, an angel cried out to him, in his dream, that he will get such a reward from God as has not been bestowed on any previous king, and the fulfilment of this message came on the 29th Dhul Ḥijja, 1049, when he was initiated into the *Ḳādirī* order by Mullā Shāh, who, according to Dārā, was the greatest divine of his time. Dārā, besides noticing at considerable length the lives of Mīyān Jīv, his sister Jamāl Khātūn, and his many disciples, the most notable among

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[1] Urdū translation lithographed at Lahore.

[2] In Binyon's *The Court Painters of the Grand Moghuls* (Milford, 1921), Plate No. XXXIII, there is a fine miniature portraying Mīyān Jīv and Mullā Shāh sitting opposite to each other. And in Havell's *Indian Painting and Sculpture*, (London, 1908), there is a fine painting, reproduced in colour, in which Mullā Shāh and Khwāja 'Abdullāh are seen sitting opposite to Mīyān Jīv, and in E. Blochet's *Les Enluminures des Manuscrits Orientaux* (Paris, 1926), there is a portrait of Dārā Shikūh and Mullā Shāh, which the learned author could not identify.

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whom is Mullā Shāh, discusses various Ṣūfistic and religious problems, such as the need of a spiritual guide, the way to find him, the desirability or otherwise of *Samā'* (or engagement in hearing esoteric songs), the problem of the vision of God (or *rūyat*), etc. In short, the work is replete with interesting discussions on the various problems of the Path and can be read with profit by the serious students of Ṣūfism. It appears that Dārā has supported his arguments by reference to or quotations from the various standard works of Tradition or Ṣūfism and the names of the following works, to which Dārā has referred in this book, may serve to give an idea of the extensive studies of this prince: *Kashf-ul-Maḥjūb* (p. 5), *Tārikh-i-Yāfi'ī* (p. 13), *Mu'jam-ul-Buldān* (p. 14), *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (p. 24), *Mishkāt* (p. 24), *Baḥr-ul-Ḥaḳā'iḳ* (p. 63), *Tafsīr-i-Sullamī*, (p. 63), *Tafsīr-i-'Arā'is* (p. 64), *Tafsīr-i-Ḳubsharī* (p. 64), *Faṣl-ul-Khiṭāb* (p. 65), *Takmila* (p. 81), *Tafsīr-i-Ḥusainī* (p. 135).

This work is also valuable in another way, namely, that it gives us an insight into the relation which existed between Dārā and Mīyān Jīv and Mullā Shāh. He first meets Mīyān Jīv in the company of his father, Shāhjahān, in 1043 A.H.,[1] and the immediate effect of this meeting is his complete recovery from the serious malady he had been suffering from for the last four months (pp. 38, 39). The second visit of Dārā, which was also paid in company of his father[2], produces a still greater effect on him. He goes bare-footed to the upper storey of Mīyān Jīv's house and, out of reverence to the saint, gathers the chewed clove thrown away by him. Next, he goes to him alone and pays him homage by placing his hands at his feet (p. 41). This opened the portals of Divine mysteries on Dārā and Mīyān Mīr pronounced him to be his "very life and vision," (p. 42). And it was through the kindness of Mīyān Mīr that Dārā received lessons in *Mushāhida* (or, Beholding of God) and also witnessed the *Lailat-ul-Ḳadr*, on the 27th Ramaḍān, 1050 A.H. The relations that existed between Dārā and his spiritual guide, Mullā Shāh, were more intimate and endured up to the latter's death, in 1072 A.H. It is impossible to reproduce even in brief the many personal reminiscences of Dārā's relations with Mullā Shāh which the

1 The interview took place on the 17th Shawwāl, 1043 A.H. (see *Badshāhnāma* vol. I, part ii, p. 12 and *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā*, pp. 38, 39).

2 This interview took place on the 8th Rajab, 1044 A.H. (see *Bādshāhnāma* vol. I, part ii, p. 65 and *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā*, p. 39).

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former has recorded in the *Sakīna*, but the following extract from the letters which the latter wrote to Dārā may serve to show the esteem in which the prince was held by his *Pīr* and *Murshid*. He writes: " .. I repose much trust in your wisdom and understanding .." (Letter No. 1, p. 140). " You are well informed of divine mysteries .. " (Letter No. 3, p. 141). .... " O ! temporal and spiritual King .." (Letter No. 9, p. 147), etc.

Moreover, Mullā Shāh has written a special *Ghazal* in which he has exalted the spiritual attainments of Dārā Shikūh. He writes[1]:—

The first and the second *Ṣāḥib Ḳirān* (namely Amīr Tīmūr and Shāhjahān) are the kings of grandeur, (while) our Dārā Shikūh is the *Ṣāḥib Ḳirān* of heart.

From the universe, the provision of the two worlds, he has brought under his grip on account of the merchandise of his heart.

We also learn from the *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā* that Mullā Shāh had asked Dārā to impart spiritual instructions to the *murīds*; but the *'Ulamā* who were known to Dārā dissuaded him from doing so (p. 135). He took omen from the *Ḳur'ān* which was favourable to him but it appears that he never actually engaged himself in imparting spiritual instructions. Mullā Shāh exhorted Dārā, on the eve of his departure to Kashmīr, " to advise the companions (*yārs*) as he was the wisest among them "; and Dārā, in his turn, requested him to pray for his future salvation (p. 138). It also appears that Mullā Shāh was of opinion that the propagation of the *Ḳādirī* mission in India would take place at the hands of the prince (p. 139). Of the religious exercises in which Dārā engaged himself, there is one which deserves special mention, namely, his exercise of restraining the breath. He writes, " One day he (Mullā Shāh) said that the exercise of restraining the breath which prevails in our order is absent from all others, and is extremely difficult to perform. He taught me the method which is peculiar to this order. Of the exercises in which I engaged myself in the beginning (of my spiritualistic

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[1] *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā*, Curzon Collection, No. 443, fol. 83b:

صاحبقران اوّل و ثانی قرین حشمت اند داراشکوه ما شده صاحبقران دل

آخر ز کائنات متاع دو کون را کرد او بدست خود ز متاع دکان دل

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career), this is one and, as a result, I could pass the whole night, whether it be long or short, in two breaths and, at times, my condition became such as if my life was going to be extinct."

3. *Risāla-i-Ḥaḳ Numā*, or 'the Compass of the Truth,' is the third work of Dārā Shikūh. It is a small tract of some thirty pages[1] dealing with the various stages of spiritual development and discussing the ways and means of reaching the highest pitch of spiritual perfection. The prince writes in the introduction that "none should read this *Risāla* unless he has got the companionship of some perfect (divine)" (p. 6). Further, he adds that this tract is a compendiun of *Futūḥāt*, *Fuṣūṣ-ul-Ḥikam*, *Lawā'iḥ*, *Lama'āt*, *Lawāmi'* and other works of Ṣūfism and expects that, "if this tract is examined by a man of God, he will justly remark what a (wonderful) gate of Divine inspiration has been opened to this *faḳīr* and that God has, inspite of his being in this garb (of a prince), opened to him the portals of saintliness and divine knowledge; so that human beings may know that His favour is without any (particular) cause. He draws towards Himself whomsoever He likes, in whatever garb he be. This wealth (of Divine knowledge) is not bestowed on every one but has been bestowed specially on *him*." (p. 6). Dārā goes on speakin this strain. He says that his first work, *Safīna*, was a composition of the period of quest (after a perfect divine) and his second, *Sakīna*, was written after he had reached the companionship of such a divine and had learnt from him "the paths of *Sulūk* and the *Maḳāmāt* (or the stages of the Ṣūfīs)," (p. 7). Lastly, he says, "Now that the gates of *Tawḥīd* (Divine Unity) and '*Irfān* (Divine knowledge) have been opened to him by God, the Most Holy and High, and He has bestowed on him His special gifts and bounties, he records them in this tract." (p. 7). Dārā further speaks (p. 5) that he has uniformly named a book by taking omens from the Holy *Ḳur'ān*. He writes "In all my compositions I have followed the practice of taking omens from the Holy *Ḳur'ān* and naming them at the Divine instance. It had come to my mind to name this tract, *Ḥaḳ Numā*, (or, the Compass of the Truth) and, when I took omen, the following Holy verse, which unmistakably points to this tract being a guide to truth and also to its greatness, came out":

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[1] Lithographed at the Nawal Kishūr Press, Lucknow, 1910. It has also been translated into English and published by the Panini Office, Allahabad.

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وَ لَقَدْ آتَيْنَا مُوسَى الْكِتَٰبَ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا أَهْلَكْنَا الْقُرُونَ الْأُولَىٰ وَ بَصَائِرَ لِلنَّاسِ وَ هُدًى وَ رَحْمَةً لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَذَكَّرُونَ *

And certainly We gave Moses the Book after We had destroyed the former generations, clear arguments for men and a guidance and a mercy, that they may be mindful (Ch. xxviii: 43).

The tract is divided into six *faṣls* (or, sections) dealing with the four worlds of *Nāsūt*, or, the Human World (pp. 8, 9); the *Malakūt*, or, the Invisible World (p. 9–21); the *Jabarūt*, or, the Highest Heaven (p. 21-22); and *Lāhut*, or the World of Divinity (p. 22). The fifth *faṣl* deals with *Hawīyat* or Divine Essence and the sixth is a continuation of the same discussion. The author concludes the work by quoting one of his quatrains which shows that the tract was completed in 1056 A.H. and that it was written under inspiration:

"The whole of this tract is a compass of the Truth,
and was completed in the year *one thousand and fifty-six.*
Consider this to be the work of *Ḳādir* (i.e. the Absolute) and not
of *Ḳādirī* (i.e. Dārā Shikūh),
Understand whatever I have said, and peace be on thee."

4. *Shaṭḥiyāt*, or *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn*, is a collection of Ṣūfic aphorisms containing the ecstatic utterances of the mystics, which seemingly appear to be in direct contravention of the orthodox doctrines of Islām. The author says in the introduction that his mystic utterances and the expression of higher truths in moments of ecstasy gave rise to serious objections from interested quarters. He writes[1]:

"As I had become dissatisfied with the current books of the men of the Path, and at times used to utter words containing the highest truth, in my ecstatic states, and some ill-natured and insincere people, out of shallow knowledge, began to taunt and accuse me of heresies, it struck me that I should collect sayings called Shaṭaḥat of high-souled and eminent men of sanctity as authorities for my professions, to convince those who are imbued with the spirit of Dajjāl instead of that of Christ or with that of Pharoah instead of that of Moses or with that

[1] I quote the English translation, or rather the paraphrase, given by Pandit Sheo Narain, in the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 28, 29.

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of Abū Jahl instead of that of a Muhammad. Some sayings had been, no doubt, collected by one Bukli [1], but as they were in allegorical style, I have added more, and simplified the language so that it may be properly understood."

A perusal of the above extract will make it abundantly clear that Dārā had reached a very high stage of spiritual life and, if we take his statement to be correct, there is no gainsaying that he indulged in such ecstatic effusions as are the exclusive privilege of those alone who are spiritually perfect. He has boldly supported his aphorisms and utterances by writing this work, which not only embodies the ecstatic utterances of the various divines and mystics—such as Bāyazīd, Dhun Nūn al-Miṣrī, Sahl b. 'Abdullāh at-Tustarī, Abū Sa'īd Kharrāz, Junaid al-Baghdādī, Ruwaim, Abū Bakr Wāsiṭī, Aḥmad-i-Ghazzālī, 'Abdul Ḳādir al-Jīlānī, Ibn al-'Arabī and others—but also of Prophet Muḥammad, the four Orthodox Caliphs and Imām Zain al-'Ābidīn and Imām Ja'far-i-Ṣādiḳ. Dārā concludes by saying that some truth-seekers had asked him to embody in this work his own *Shaṭḥ*, or aphorisms, but he replied by saying, "My *Shaṭḥ* is that all the *Shaṭḥs* contained in this work are mine." This is certainly a very bold statement and may be said to do credit to the prince.

It appears from the introduction that Dārā Shikūh undertook to write this work in 1062 A.H., when he was 28 years of age (p. 1),[2] and actually completed it on Monday, the last day of Rabī' al-Awwal, 1064 A.H., (p. 64). His conclusion is interesting as it gives us an insight into his mental attitude. He writes (p. 64): "He is fortunate who finds taste in these matters, and is benefited by them and considers himself a sincere devotee of theirs (i.e. the Ṣūfīs) and engages himself in such pursuits. God, the Generous, has said, 'We did not create the Jin and the human beings except for devotion.' All the erotic and esoteric commentators of the *Ḳur'ān* have explained devotion by the word *'Irfān* (or, Divine knowledge). Hence, nothing is better than *Tawḥīd* (monotheism) and *Ma'rifat* (Divine knowledge)...."

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1 The learned Pandit has wrongly read *Baḳlī* (بقلی) as *Bukli*. It is part of the name of Shaikh Rūzbahān Baḳlī, the well-known saint, whose life Dārā has noticed on p. 176 of his *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā* (d. 606 A.H.).

2 *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn*, (Urdū translation) lithographed at Lahore and published by Malik Faḍluddīn, Malik Chananuddīn and Malik Tājuddīn, *Kakkay Zaiy*.

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5. *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*, or 'the Mingling of the Two Oceans,' is the fifth work of Dārā Shikūh which he completed in 1065 A.H., namely, when he was forty-two years old. As I have discussed the work more fully in subsequent pages, (pp. xxx–xxxiii, *infra*.) I need not repeat what I have stated elsewhere.

6. *Upanishads*—This is a translation of some fifty chapters of the *Upanishads*, or *Upanikhat*, entitled *Sirr-i-Akbar*,[1] made by Dārā Shikūh, in 1067 A.H., or some two years before his execution.

The chief merit of this translation lies in its simplicity and it must always be considered as one of the best specimens of easy, flowing style. I cannot do better than present to the reader a translation of the introductory pages of this work, which will give him, I believe, an adequate idea as to the reasons which prompted Dārā to undertake this work; the pains that he took to read the Old and the New Testaments, the Psalms of David and other Scriptures; his disappointment at not finding in these scriptures a true solution of the problem of *Tawḥīd*; and, finally, getting his heart's desire in the *Upanishads*.

He writes[2]: "Praise be to the Self which has made the dot on the letter *bi* (ب) of *Bismillāh*, (in the name of God), an eternal secret in all the revealed books; and *Al-Ḥamd* which is *Omul-kitāb*, in the Holy *Ḳur'ān*, is a reference to His Great Name (*Ism-i-A'ẓam*), in which are included all the angels, Heavenly Books, Prophets and Apostles. *Preface*: Now, thus sayeth, this griefless *faḳīr*, Muḥammad Dārā Shikūh, that when he visited the Paradise-like Kashmīr, in 1050, he had, through Divine grace and His boundless mercy, occasion to become a disciple of Mullā Shāh ..... As he had an ardent desire for seeing the God-knowing devotees of the various 'orders' and hear their high utterances regarding monotheism, he had read the various works on mysticism and had himself composed tracts, but, inspite of this, his thirst for understanding *Tawḥīd*, which is a vast ocean, was increasing more and more.

[1] Anquetil Duperron, 'the famous French traveller and discoverer of the Zend Avesta,' translated the *Upanishads* into French (not published) and into Latin, from the Persian translation made by Dārā Shikūh. It was published in two volumes in 1801 and 1802. (See the *Upanishads*, translated by Max Müller in the *Sacred Books of the East Series*, Vol. I, p. lviii.)

[2] *Sirr-i-Akbar*, (A.S.B. Curzon Collection, No. II, 154), fols. 1b, 2a, b, 3a, b, and 4a. See also J.A.S.B., (New Series), Vol. XIX, No. 7, pp. 242 to 244 and 250 to 252.

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New problems were coming to his mind, the solution of which was impossible without a reference to the sayings of God or without (quoting) an authority from His Omniscient Self. Moreover, there were many secrets concealed in the Holy *Ḳur'ān* and the Sacred Book, whose interpreter it was difficult to find. So, he (i.e. the author) desired to read all the revealed Books, for the utterances of God elucidate and explain one another. It may be that in one place it is found in compendium, while in others it may be given in detail; and, as such, the compendium may be understood by the help of the detailed. I read the Old and the New Testaments and the Psalms of David and other scriptures but the discourse on *Tawḥīd* found in them was brief and in a summary form and, from the easy translations which have been made by interested persons, the object could not be realized. ...."

Further, the author says that he examined the religious works of the Hindūs, "who do not negate monotheism," and found that the monotheistic verses contained in the four *Vedas* have been collected and elucidated in the *Upanikhat*, which is an ocean of monotheism. So he undertook a literal and correct translation of the work with the help of the Pandits and the Sanyāsīs of Benares and accomplished the work in 1067 A.H. He says: "Any difficult problem or sublime idea that came to his mind and was not solved inspite of his best efforts, becomes clear and solved with the help of this ancient work, which is undoubtedly the first heavenly Book and the fountain-head of the ocean of monotheism, and, in accordance with or rather an elucidation of the *Ḳur'ān*. And this *verse* appears to have been revealed for this very ancient book:

إِنَّهُ لَقُرْآنٌ كَرِيمٌ فِي كِتَابٍ مَكْنُونٍ لَا يَمَسُّهُ إِلَّا الْمُطَهَّرُونَ - تَنْزِيلٌ مِنْ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ * (Ch. LVI: 77, 78, 79.)

It is ascertainable that the above verse does not refer to the Psalms, the Pentateuch and the Gospels, nor to the Secret Tablet (*Lawḥ-i-Maḥfūẓ*), as the word *tanzīl* cannot be applied to the latter. Now, as *Upanikhat* is a hidden secret .. and the actual verses of the *Ḳur'ān* can be found in it, it is certain that the hidden book (or, *kitāb-i-maknūn*) is a reference to this very ancient book. This *Faḳīr* has known unknown things and understood un-understood problems through the medium

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of this book. And (he) had no other object in view (in translating this work) except that he would be personally benefited or that his issues, friends and the seekers of the Truth would gather its fruits. The graced one who, having set aside the promptings of passion, and casting off all prejudice, will read and understand this translation,—which is entitled *Sirr-i-Akbar* (or, the Great Secret)—will consider it to be Divine utterance, he will have no anxiety or fear or grief and will be helped and fortified with Divine grace ....."

7. *Bhāgvat Gītā*.—The Persian translation of this well-known Sanskrit work is ascribed to Dārā Shikūh in the manuscript copy (No. 1949) preserved in the India Office Library. Dr. Ethé is of opinion[1] that Dārā Shikūh and not Abul Faḍl, as wrongly asserted by Dr. Rieu,[2] is the author of the work. In view of the categorical statement made by Dr. Ethé it is difficult to discredit his statement. The translation does not bear any date but most probably it was not made before 1067 A.H., namely, the year in which Dārā translated the *Upanishads*.

To the above list we may add the following works, which are, more or less, of a fragmentary character :—

8. I learn from the *Makẖzan-ul-Gẖarā'ib*,[3] an extremely valuable biography of Persian poets, that Dārā Shikūh had compiled a *Bayāḍ*, or Anthology, which was used by the author of *Makẖzan-ul-Gẖarā'ib* in compiling his *Tadhkira*. It is unfortunate, however, that even a single copy of the *Bayāḍ* cannot be traced in any of the Oriental libraries. It is needless to add that had the *Bayāḍ* been available it must have thrown some light on the poetical taste of the prince and might also have enabled us to gather some more verses of the prince.

9. Dārā Shikūh is also the author of a large number of letters which are of no mean literary importance. The *Fayyāḍ-ul-Ḳawānīn* [4]

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[1] *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Library of the India Office*, Vol. I, column, 1089.

[2] *Catalogue of Pers. MSS. in the British Museum*, Vol. I, p. 39.

[3] MS. copy in the Oriental Public Library, Patna, (No. 239 of the *Hand-list*), p. 3.

[4] The *Fayyāḍ-ul-Ḳawānīn* is a valuable collection of a large number of letters divided into *three* books : "(i) Letters of kings and princes, (ii) Letters from nobles to each other and to kings and princes, and (iii) miscellaneous letters." (Sarkar's *Aurangzib*, ii, p. 315). Copies of this work are extremely rare but I was fortunate

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contains some eight letters written by the prince to Shāh Muḥammad Dilrubā, Shaikh Muḥibbullāh of Allahabad and others, asking from them an explanation of certain abstruse points of *Taṣawwuf*. I have also come across a number of letters, ascribed to him in certain books of *Inshā* and also in *Majmūa's*, or the fragmentary collection of small tracts, etc.

10. In the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, (No. 701 of Blochet's Catalogue), there is a MS. copy of *Nigāristān-i-Munīr*, which contains, at the end, the Introduction of a *Murakka'*, (or, Album), which was, as the compiler's note indicates, dictated by Dārā Shikūh. It is not known as to whether the Album was arranged by the Prince himself or that it belonged to some one else who asked him to write the Introduction. It may also be possible that this introduction in *Nigāristān* is of the same Album which Dārā presented to his "nearest and dearest wife," Nādira Begam, in 1051 A.H. (=1641-2 A.D.).

Besides the above works, of which the first four have been printed and the last three are in manuscript, there are other works ascribed to the authorship of Dārā which have not been traced so far. However, if an attempt is made at their identification and the statements of the various authors, who have ascribed hitherto untraced works to Dārā, are verified in the light of modern research it will, I hope, shed more light on the life and works of this prince. I append, herewith, a list of such works as are said to have been written by Dārā but have not, so far as I know, been traced in any of the important libraries of the East or the West:—

1. *Risāla-i-Ma'ārif*.—This is said to be a tract on, as its name indicates, the doctrines of mysticism. The author of *Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiyā*[1] (vol. I, p. 175) ascribes its authorship to Dārā Shikūh. Muḥammad Laṭīf, in his *Lahore*[2], has also included it in the list of Dārā Shikūh's works but the latter appears to have only copied it from the *Khazīna*.

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in examining a MS. copy of the above work. I have taken down a transcription of the letters of Dārā Shikūh which I propose to publish sometime later. Two of the above letters are included in a MS. copy of *Safīna-i-Baḥr-ul-Muḥīṭ*, preserved in the Berlin Library (Pertsch, pp. 40, 45). Another letter which Dārā Shikūh wrote in 1055 A.H. (=1645 A.D.) is preserved in MS. No. 56 of the above library (Pertsch, p. 115) and a letter to Sarmad was published in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1923.

1 By Muftī Ghulām Sarwar of Lahore (Lucknow, 1874).

2 Laṭīf's *Lahore* (1892), p. 64.

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2. *Nādir-un-Nikāt.*—Dr. Ethé[1] has ascribed this work to Dārā Shikūh but has quoted no authority in favour of his assertion. It is not improbable, however, that *Nādir-un-Nikāt* is only another name of *Risāla-i-Ḥaḳ Numā*, for a manuscript copy of the latter tract (in the A.S.B. Curzon Collection) bears the former title. It is equally probable that *Nādir-un-Nikāt* and *Mukālima-i-Bābā Lāl wa Dārā Shikūh*[2] (of which I will speak later) are identical, for a manuscript copy of the latter work preserved in the O.P. Library[3] bears the title of *Makhzan-i-Nikāt*, which is closely allied to *Nādir-un-Nikāt*. It is, however, difficult to choose between the two probables.

3. *Mathnawī.*—It appears from the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* (vol. II, No. I)[4] that a Persian *Mathnawī* said to have been composed by this prince, is mentioned in the *Makhzan*, a monthly magazine of Lahore (September, 1907).

4. It is stated in the above *Journal* that Dārā Shikūh is reported to have written an autobiography, but, so far, I have found no mention of such a work in the books I have consulted in connection with the life of this prince.

Dārā Shikūh as a Poet.

So far, we have described only the prose-works of Dārā Shikūh or such other works as have been ascribed to his authorship but have not, as far as I know, been traced anywhere. Now we may discuss briefly the merits of Dārā as a poet. But, I must state at the outset, that the materials for such a discussion are very scanty. We know from authoritative sources that Dārā Shikūh composed a *Dīwān*, entitled *Iksīr-i-A'ẓam*, which, according to the author of *Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiyā*, contained "a mine of information regarding *Tawḥīd*," and was actually perused by him. It is a pity, however, that such a valuable *Dīwān* has not, as yet, found room in the well-known libraries of the East or the West, nor has seen the light of print. I was pleased to see an announcement in the *Nigār*, (an Urdū monthly of Bhūpāl), that the *Dīwān* of

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[1] *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the India Office Library*, vol. I, p. 275.

[2] *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, vol. II, No. I, p. 27.

[3] Pandit Sheo Narain's article on 'Dārā Shikūh as an author,' in the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, vol. II, No. I, p. 26.

[4] Ibid, p. 25.

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Dārā Shikūh has been discovered and that full particulars regarding this valuable manuscript will be published in a subsequent issue of the magazine. I waited for two years but no such description of the manuscript appeared. Finally, I wrote to the editor of the magazine who informed me, in reply, that the owner of the manuscript had left for England and I must wait till his return. Hence, my disappointment. I also found an announcement in the price-list of Hājī Jān Muḥ. Allāh Bakhsh Ganā'ī, the well-known book-sellers of Lahore, that the Quatrains of Dārā Shikūh (رباعیّات داراشکوہ) are in the course of print. It is more than two years since I saw the announcement and I have been asked by the publishers to wait for some months more!

It is difficult to hazard any opinion regarding the contents of the *Dīwān*, nor it is possible to say whether the *Quatrains*, which are said to be in the course of publication at Lahore, are included in the *Dīwān*, or the *Mathnawī*, which has been ascribed to him, is also included in it. Such questions can only be answered on the publication of the *Dīwān* or a list of its contents. For the time being, at least, we are to be contented with some 25 quatrains and a few *Ghazals* only, which have either been quoted by Dārā in his prose-works or have been ascribed to him in the various *Tadhkiras*.

The largest number of *Quatrains*, totalling more than 20[1], are quoted by Dārā in his *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn* and only a few more can be found in all his remaining works. Hence, it is apparent that the materials, as I have stated before, are very scanty. But we are to judge their value by their quality and not by their quantity. We find, that Dārā's verses were appreciated in his own life-time. The following appreciation from the pen of Mullā Shāh, who was himself an accomplished poet, will serve to convey an idea as to Dārā being a poet of no ordinary merit: [2]

"All the excellences are under the subjugation of an *'Ārif*, and this is well-established that he (also) possesses (some degree) of harmonious-

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[1] I have calculated this number from my manuscript copy of *Ḥasanāt*, and have taken only such quatrains about which the author has distinctly mentioned that they are his composition. A perusal of other manuscripts may either increase or reduce this number.

[2] Mullā Shāh's letter to Dārā Shikūh in *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā*, p. 144.

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ness. What to say of your incomparable and heart-pleasing verses. How sweet fruits cannot be borne by this pure clay ?"

We learn from the *Tadhkiras* that Dārā had adopted the *Takhallus*, or *nom de plume*, of *Ḳādirī*, which testifies to his sincere devotion to the *Ḳādirī* order. *Sarkhush*, who wrote his *Kalimāt-ush-Shu'arā* only twenty-one years after the execution of Dārā, speaks of him in the following words[1] :—

> "Muḥammad Dārā Shikūh styled as "*Shāh-i-Baland Iḳbāl*," the heir-apparent of Shāhjahān Pādshāh, was a prince of good disposition, fine imagination and handsome appearance. He had patience ; led the life of a Ṣūfī, was a friend of the devotees, and was also an Unitarian and a philosopher. He had a noble mind and a far-reaching intelligence. He expressed Ṣūfistic ideas in *Quatrains* and *Ghazals* and, in view of his adherence to the *Ḳādirī* order, adopted the pen-name of *Ḳādirī*."

Then, the author proceeds to narrate a story showing Dārā's forbearance towards one of the buffoons of his court who had made a very impertinent joke at the expense of the prince.

The author concludes the notice of Dārā with the following remarks :—

> "He has written excellent Ṣūfistic works and has solved difficult problems therein. A small *Dīwān* of his verses has been collected."

The same author, while giving an account of Mīrzā Raḍī, *Dānish*, who came to India in the reign of Shāhjahān, writes :—

> "Dārā Shikūh, having appreciated this verse[2] of his, selected it as *Miṣra'-i-Ṭaraḥ* :
>
> تاک را سرسبز دارد ابر نیسان در بهار
> قطره تا مي مي تواند شد چرا گوهر شود

Every one composed verses according to his liking. The prince also wrote a verse : [3]

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1 Afḍaluddīn *Sarkhush* wrote his *Tadhkira* in 1090 A.H.

2 Fol. 58 b. of my manuscript copy.

3 The story is given on fols. 58b and 59a of my manuscript copy. The author of *Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib* (p. 682, O.P. Library copy) writes that four poets,

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سلطنت سهل است خود را آشنای فقر کن
قطره تا دریا تواند شد چرا گوهر شود

"Kingship is easy; make thyself familiar with the ways of asceticism,

(For), if a drop can be the ocean why should it (then) be the pearl."

I cannot do better than quote some of his verses, from certain *Tadhkiras*, and leave them to the readers to pass their own judgment on the same; but, I would ask them to keep in mind the fact that the verses were written at a time when the grandeur and magnificence of the Mughal court had reached the highest pitch of perfection and, in the midst of that mirth and merry-making, there was the heir-apparent who did think of the Transcendent and rise above the gross materialism of his day to the planes of higher spiritualism. He writes:

هر خم و پیچی که شد از تاب زلف یار شد
دام شد تسبیح شد زنجیر شد زنّار شد

تا دوست رسیدیم چو از خویش بریدیم
از خویش گذشتن چه مبارک سفری بود

مردم شدم تاکه بقرآن گشتم
عارف شدم و ز خویش عریان گشتم
پیدا کردی مرا و لیکن من هم
پیدا کردم ترا و قربان گشتم

بخیه بر خرقهٔ فنا کیشان موج آب حیات را مانَد

---

including the prince, had written verses in reply (جواب) to the above verse of *Faiḍī*. I think, the biographer is wrong in ascribing the authorship of the verse to *Faiḍī* as it is not included in his *Dīwān*.

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Dārā Shikūh and the Fine Arts.

Dārā Shikūh was a lover of the fine arts. He studied Caligraphy with Āḳā 'Abdur Rashīd ad-Dailamī, the well-known Caligrapher at the court of Shāhjahān and the last great scribe of *Nasta'līḳ*. The author of *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*[1] states that Dārā wrote a very good hand in *Nasta'līḳ* and was the best pupil of Āḳa Rashīd. He adds that none of the pupils of the Āḳā excelled him in fine penmanship. It may be added that there is a painting in the collection of Mr. A. Ghose of Calcutta in which Dārā Shikūh is depicted as taking his lessons in Caligraphy from the Āḳā.[2] Besides *Nasta'līḳ*, Dāra also wrote a very good hand in *Naskh*, and the specimens of his Caligraphy preserved in the various Oriental Libraries prove conclusively that he excelled both in *Naskh* and *Nasta'līḳ*.[3] He was also a great admirer of paint-

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[1] By Ghulām Muḥammad, *Haft Raḳam*, (Bib. Indica), p. 54.

[2] The painting has been reproduced in the *Calcutta Review*, March, 1925.

[3] I know of the following autographs of Dārā Shikūh preserved in the various libraries of Europe and India :—

(1) *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā*, (Oriental Public Library, Patna, MS. No. 673) bearing the following note in the hand-writing of Dārā Shikūh :—

هذا كتاب سفينة الاوليا حررة محمد دارا شكوة حنفي قادري ١٠٥٠ *

Khān Bahādur 'Abdul Muḳtadir (*Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Oriental Public Library*, Patna, Vol. VIII, pp. 47, 48) is of opinion that the MS. has been collated by Dārā Shikūh, as the marginal notes indicate, and not copied by him, as is generally asserted.

(2) *Ḳur'ān*, written on deer skin in 1051 A.H., bearing the following note at the colophon :—

كتبه بندهٔ آثم داراشكوه بن شاهجهان بادشاه غازي در مقام شاهجهان آباد ١٠٥٠ هـ *

Shams-ul-'ulamā Ḥāfiẓ Nadhīr Aḥmad, who examined the MS. in the 'Azīz Bāgh Library, Hyderabad (Deccan), gives the following account of the MS. in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, (New Series, 1917, p. xc.) : "The verses of the *Ḳur'ān* are written throughout in gold. The headings are illuminated with fine floral designs and the copy is beautifully illuminated throughout. The MS. is carefully preserved in a splendid binding."

(3) *Panjsūra*, written in a learned *Naskh* in gold. The MS. formerly belonged to the Būhār Library, (Imperial Library), Calcutta, but is now deposited with the Trustees of the Victoria Memorial Hall, Cal-

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ings and a good judge of their technique and value. The Album which he presented to his "nearest and dearest wife." Nādira

cutta (See *Catalogue Raisonne of Persian MSS. in the Būhār Library*, p. viii.)

(4) *Dah Pand-i-Arasṭū*, in fine, clear *Nasta'līḳ*, within gold-ruled borders preserved in the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta.

(5) *Risāla-i-Ḥikmat-i-Arasṭū*, copied by the prince in 1041 A.H. and now preserved in the Āṣifīya Library, Hyderabad (Deccan). (See the Urdū *Hand-list* of the Library, Vol. II, pp. 1770, 1771.)

(6) *Sharḥ-i-Dīwān-i-Ḥāfiz*, (by Saifuddīn Abul Ḥasan 'Abdur Raḥmān) defective at the beginning. The date of transcription is not given in the Urdū *Hand-list* (Vol. I, pp. 738, 739) of the Āṣifīya library, where the MS. is at present.

(7) A note on the fly-leaf of an autograph copy of a *Mathnawī* of Bahāuddīn Sulṭān Walad, son of the well-known Jālāluddīn Rūmī. The MS. belonged to the Government of India and was noticed in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1870. p. 251, but, unfortunately, is, now, no longer in the Government (Curzon) Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. H. Blochmann published a facsimile of the Autograph-note of Dārā Shikūh in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1870, p. 272, which runs as follows :—

هو القادر

مثنوي سلطان ولد

بخط مبارک ایشان

راقمه محمد دارا شکوه

Blochmann has, due to an oversight, read هو القهار for هو القادر

(8) A *Waṣlī* exhibited at the Sixth Session of the *Nadwat-ul-'Ulamā* held at Benares, in 1906. See (*An-Nadwa*, Vol. III, No. 4.).

(9) A *Waṣlī* exhibited at the Second Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Lahore, 1920. (See p. xxii of the *Proceedings* of the Commission).

(10) A *Waṣlī* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, dated 1046 A.H. (=1636 A.D.). (See Sachau and Ethé's *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, Vol. I, Column No. 1090.)

(11) If appears from one of the Letters of Shiblī Nu'mānī, a well-known Urdū scholar, that Dr. Sir E. Denison Ross had, in his possession, an autograph of Dārā Shikūh (See *Makātīb-i-Shiblī*, Vol. II, p. 241).

(12) *Waṣlī* exhibited at the Fourth Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Delhi, 1922. (See the *Proceedings* of the Commission, Vol. IV, p. 107 and *Memoirs* of the Arch. Sur. of India, No. 29, p. 12.)

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Begam[1] and which bears the following inscription in his own handwriting :—

"This album was presented to his nearest and dearest friend, the Lady Nadira Begum by Prince Muhammad Dārā Shukoh, son of the Emperor Shahjahān in the year 1051 (1641-2 A.D.)"[2], is one of the most valuable treasures of the Mughal Art.

Principal Percy Brown in his admirable *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, while discussing the value and importance of the Album, observes :—

"As a criterion of the artistic taste of a cultivated Mughal prince this *Muraqqa'* is of interest; it shows that its original owner, while attracted by weak prettiness in some of his selections, was on the whole a good judge of a miniature and had gathered his examples with care."

And, Cecil L. Burns, describing the Album in an illuminating article in the *Times of India Annual*, 1925, writes :—

"What the Koh-i-Noor is to other eastern diamonds, surely this richly bound volume in wrought leather, containing miniatures by Persian, Central Asian and Mughal artists, and specimens of Caligraphy of the highest quality of the penman's and painter's art, must be to any other volume of a similar character..... The album is

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(13) An autograph-note on the valuable Album which Dārā Shikūh presented to his "nearest and dearest wife," Nādira Begam, in 1051 A.H.

It may be added, here, that an ornamented and illuminated copy of the *Ḳur'ān* which, it is believed, was actually used by Dārā Shikūh, is now in the collection of Nawwāb Ḥusāmuddīn Ḥaidar of Comilla. The author of *Safar Nāma-i-Maẓharī* (late Ḥājī Maẓhar 'Alīm Anṣārī Rūdawlawī) gives us the following particulars regarding the copy :— 'Nawwāb Ḥusām Ḥaidar Ṣāḥib showed me a MS. copy of the *Ḳur'ān* which was illuminated and ornamented with gold. It is written by a Persian scribe on thick, fine paper. The size is folio. My eyes were brightened on seeing the MS. It was this very *Ḳur'ān* from which Dārā Shikūh read daily. It bears his seal. The Nawwāb Ṣāḥib got the MS. from a European lady. It is a unique copy of the *Ḳur'ān*, (p. 98 of the *Safar Nāma*).

1 India Office Library R. and L. 944-1908.

2 Smith (V. A.), *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, (Oxford, 1911) pp. 457, 458. For a description of the Album see Percy Brown's *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, (1925), pp. 94, 95; *The Times of India Annual* 1925.

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similar to such an one as Vasaris, the great biographer of the Renaissance in Italy, prepared of the drawings of the artists of that period. .....All are of the highest quality, of the schools represented, and afford a striking testimony to the knowledge and taste of the Prince who selected them."

Works written at the Instance of Dārā.

In addition to the works which are Dārā's own composition, there is a large number of books which have either been written at his instance, or have been dedicated to him as a tribute to his patronage of such authors. The number of the works of former class cannot be expected to be large but the works of the latter class are numerous and, as such, it will not be possible to notice all of them. Moreover, the identification of all such books has not been complete. I will, therefore, enumerate only the more important ones of this class.

Now, let us discuss the works of the former class :—

(1) *Mukālima-i-Dārā Shikūh wa Bābā Lāl*—contains a summary of the questions that were asked by Dārā Shikūh on the various topics of Hindū religion and ascetic life and the replies that were given to them by Bābā Lāl, a Hindū devotee of the Panjāb. It appears, from the investigations made by Pandit Sheo Narain,[1] that Bābā Lāl, actually named Lāl Dayāl, was a Khatrī of Ḳaṣūr, who lived at his *Asthān*, at Dhiānpūr near Batāla. Dārā Shikūh intended to go to him, as he was a friend of Mīyān Jīv, but the saint himself came down to Lahore, where Dārā conversed with him.[2] It is, however, difficult to fix the actual date of these conversations; for there is no internal evidence, except one perhaps, to give us a clue to ascertain this point. From the seventh and the last sitting it can be ascertained that these conversations took place after Dārā's return from the expedition to Ḳandhār, in 1062 A.H.

In his *Ḥasanāt-ul-ʿĀrifīn*, which he completed in 1064 A.H., Dārā has included the name of Bābā Lāl—the only Hindū whose aphorisms he has quoted. He writes (p. 40):

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[1] In his "Dārā Shikūh as an author" (*Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 27, 28).

[2] Pandit Sheo Narain writes that he has found a manuscript copy of Bābā Lāl's biography, from which he has taken the above details.

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"Bābā Lāl *Mandīya* is one of the perfect '*Ārifs*, and I have seen none in the Hindū community who is equal to him in majesty and firmness. He told me, 'There are '*Ārifs* and perfect (divines) in every community through whose grace God grants salvation to that community'[1]....."

In the *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain* also, (p. 24), Dārā has put down the name of this saint, whom he calls Bābā Lāl *Bairāgī*, by the side of those Muḥammadan saints and divines who have been the best representatives of the Ṣūfī order in Islām. The inclusion of the name of a Hindū in such an exclusive list of Muslim divines shows unmistakably the high esteem in which this devotee was held by Dārā Shikūh.

Hence, it is not surprising that Dārā did invite the saint and had the conversations, which passed between him and the mystic, recorded. It appears that Dārā's private Secretary, Chandar Bhān,[2] was present on the occasion of these interviews and perhaps, acting as an interpreter, took a verbatim report of the whole dialogue, from which he prepared the present book, entitled *Mukālima-i-Dārā Shikūh wa Bābā Lāl*.

In the A.S.B. (Curzon Collection 1908-1910) there is a manuscript copy of *Pūthī Ūrīsī* in Persian, which contains the memoirs of Bābā Lāl and also an account of the interview which he had with Dārā Shikūh in 1059 A.H. (= 1649 A.D.)

It may be added here, that there is a painting reproduced in Binyon's *The Court Painters of the Grand Moghals*,[3] in which Dāra Shikūh is depicted as sitting by the side of Bābā Lāl. Binyon gives us the following particulars regarding the Bābā :—

"Lāl Swāmī....was a Kshatriya, born in Malwa in the reign of Jahāngīr; after having been initiated, he settled near Sirhind, in the Panjāb, where he built himself a hermitage, together with a temple, and was visited by a large number of disciples. Among those who were attracted by his teaching was Dārā Shikoh; two learned Hindus who

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[1] In the same book (p. 44) Dārā, while quoting the aphorisms of Bābā Lāl, writes that this saint belonged to the order of Kabīr.

[2] Chandar Bhān was an inhabitant of Patyālā or of Lahore, as asserted by some. He was the *Mīr Munshī* to Dārā and was appointed in the *Dār-ul-Inshā* of Shāhjahān, in 1066 A.H., and entitled Rāi Chandar Bhān. He died in 1068 A.H., or in 1073. He left several works including *Chahār Chaman*, *Munshiāt-i-Brahman*, *Kārnāma*, *Guldasta*, *Majma'-ul-Wuzarā*, etc., and a *Diwān*.

[3] Humphrey Milford, (Oxford University Press), 1921, Plate No. XXII.

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were in this prince's service have recorded, in a work entitled *Nādir-al-Nikāt*, the conversation, that took place between the Swami and the prince during seven interviews between them in the year 1649.[1]"

In another painting,[2] reproduced in the above book, the Bābā appears in a group of some twelve Indian Divines to wit, Rāy Dās, Pīpā, Nāmdīv, Sā'īn, Kamāl, Awghar, Kabīr, Pīr Machandar, Gorakh Jadrū, (?) Pīr Panth Swāmī (?), and is styled there as Lāl Swāmī. A painting was also exhibited at the second meeting of the *Indian Historical Records Commission*[3] in which Dārā Shikūh and Bābā Lāl (called there Lāldās) are shown in each other's company.

And an un-identified painting in Percy Brown's *Indian Painting under the Mughals* (Plate No. XLVI from M. Demotte's collection), also portrays, in my opinion, the meeting scene between Dārā Shikūh and Bābā Lāl Dās.[4]

(2) *Jug Bāshist*—or a Persian translation of the famous Sanskrit, *Yoga Vāsishṭha*, was undertaken at the instance of Dārā Shikūh by one of his courtiers, whose name, unfortunately, we do not know. The translator says in the introduction that Prince Dārā Shikūh ordered him, in 1066 A.H., to translate the *Yoga Vāsishṭha* into simple Persian, for the other translations, and more specially, the one made by Mullā Ṣūfī,[5] did not serve the purpose of the seekers of the truth. The immediate reason, however, of having the book translated was that

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1 P. 82. 2 Plate No. XIX. 3 *Proceedings*, Appendix, p. XXV.

4 The dialogues have been arranged and edited by one Chiranjī Lāl and lithographed at Delhi in 1885. An Urdū translation, entitled *Asrār-i-Ma'rifat*, has also been published, some years back, by Dīwān Māyā Dās of Lahore and another, with the Persian text, and entitled *Shu'ā-i-Ma'rifat* was published by Munshī Bulāqī Dās of Delhi in 1896. I have perused the second lithographed copy and am surprised to find that it differs materially from the manuscript copy preserved in the Oriental Public Library, Patna, (No. 1449 of the Hand-list of Persian MSS.). Further, a perusal of the above MS. copy reveals the fact that the work was originally composed in Hindī and then translated into Persian (fol. 1*a*). It may be added, here, that MS. copies of the *Mukālima* in the Berlin Library, (Pertsch, No. 1,081,2) and the Bodleian Library (Ethé, Column 758) agree, as appears from the first line quoted in the catalogues, with the copy in the Oriental Public Library, Patna. Since the above was in type, an excellent text of the *Mukālima*, with its French translation, has been published by Huart and Massignon in the *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, Tome CCIX, No. 2.

5 In A.S.B. Collection MS. No. 158, the name of the translator is Shaikh Ṣūfī.

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both Vāsiṣṭha and Rām Chandar appeared, one night, before Dārā Shikūh in dream; the former asking Rām Chandar to embrace Dārā Shikūh which he did and then again asking him, (Rām Ch.) to give some sweets to Dārā, which he took and ate. As a result of this dream it came to the mind of Dārā to have the work translated into Persian. He commanded one of his courtiers to do the work which he performed in collaboration with certain well-known Pandits of the place.

(3) *Tārikh-i-Shamshīr Khānī*—an abridgement of the *Shāhnāma* made at the instance of Dārā. (See *Proceedings* of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol. II, p. xvii, and Pertsch, No. 708).

Of the works dedicated to Dārā I append, hereto, a list of only two:

(1) *Ṭibb-i-Dārā Shikūhī*[1]—is a big work of some 400 folios on "the general principles of medicine and the treatment of the various diseases" which was written by Nūruddīn Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Ain-ul-Mulk Shīrāzī. It was written about the year 1056 A.H.[2] and dedicated to Dārā Shikūh, the then heir-apparent of Shāhjahān.

(2) *Tarjuma-i-Aḳwāl-i-Wāsiṭī*—or a Persian translation of the sayings of the famous Ṣūfī, Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Wāsiṭī (d. C. 320 A.H., 932 A.D.), by one Ibrāhīm Miskīn who dedicated them to this prince in 1067, that is, only two years before his execution.[3]

Dārā's Religious Views.

A close examination of the works of Dārā Shikūh, in their correct chronological order, will reveal the fact that his earlier studies were purely Ṣūfistic in character and were not extended to an examination of the mystic systems of other religions. But the deeper and wider was his study the greater was the realization of the truths found in other religions and more outspoken the appreciation for them. There is no denying the fact that he must have received his education on old, orthodox lines but, nevertheless, he had the courage to cast away all prejudice and examine things in their true perspective. He writes himself in his introduction

[1] In the Paris MS. Nos. 857–859 (*Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans*, pp. 103, 104) the MS. is entitled *'Ilājāt-i-Dārā Shikūhī*.

[2] The author writes in the introduction that he composed the work about the time Shāhjahān conquered Badakhshān, namely 1055-56 A.H.

[3] A MS. copy of the work is in the A.S.B. Library, see Ivanow's *Catalogue* p. 612.

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to the translation of the *Upanishads* that after his discipleship of Mullā Shāh, in 1050 A.H., he came in close contact with the divines of the various religions and perused the Psalms, the Gospels and the Pentateuch. This marks the beginning of Dārā's examination of the systems of various religions. But in the books and tracts which he wrote before 1062, he does not express his opinion on the various religions, or, more specially, on Hindūism. In the *Shaṭhiyāt* only (1062) we find him quoting the aphorisms of a Hindū divine, Bābā Lāl, which purports to declare that 'Truth is not the monopoly of any one religion.' The next work, in order of chronology, is the *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*, written in 1065, in which he has expressed his views very clearly, and is definitely of opinion that in the higher planes of the realization of Truth there is no essential difference between Hindūism and Islām. Dārā knew that such an outspoken expression of opinion must be considered as sacrilegious by a large section of the members of both the communities, so he gives the note of warning and says, "I have written this book for the members of my family and have nothing to do with the common ones of both the religions." This small book is an attempt to reconcile Hindūism and Islām. The author has endeavoured to show that the conception of the Elements, God, the Senses, the Almighty, the Soul, the Communion with the Infinite, the Day of Resurrection, the Universe, the Planets and the Cycles, etc., is practically the same in Hindūism and Islām. His attempt has been mostly confined to showing the points of identity between the two religions without exalting or undermining either. He is concerned with facts and puts them *as they are*. His is rather a comparative study of Hindūism and Islām with an attempt to point out the various points on which they meet. As a student of comparative religion he has put down the points of resemblance between the two religions, however superficial they may be, and, surprisingly enough, in his zeal for establishing a close identity between them, has chosen to ignore the many points of difference. But it must be admitted, at the same time, that Dārā had not renounced his own faith and become a Hindū as is asserted by a biased section of the community. The very Introduction, which he has begun with the praise of God, the Prophet, his companions and the descendants, will belie such a presumption, and a careful perusal of the later chapters will show that he was a Muslim through-

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out, believing in the saints and the mystics of Islām and calling Muḥammed the 'last Prophet.'

From 1065 A.H. onwards, Dārā was more deeply interested in the study of Hindūism. In 1066 A.H., he got the *Jug Bāshist* translated into Persian. A year later he himself translated the *Upanishads* into Persian prose. About this time he also translated the *Bhāgvat Gītā*[1] or, perhaps, had it translated by one of his courtiers.

In all these works there is not the slightest indication that Dārā had renounced Islām and embraced Hindūism. He is a Muslim throughout. He is of opinion that the *Vedas* are "revealed books" but certainly this could not amount to an apostasy from Islām. He believed in the *Ḳur'ān* and was of opinion that "the *Vedas* were in accordance with the *Ḳur'ān* or rather they were an interpretation of that." Can such an opinion amount to renouncing Islām? It is for the doctors of the Faith to pronounce an opinion on the point but, to a layman like myself, it appears that no one could possibly be declared a *Kāfir* on one's simply expressing the above views. There have been many revealed books, which according to the Muslim faith have been abrogated, but, nevertheless, they can be studied profitably by one who wishes to make a higher and deeper study of religions and theological problems. So, if Dārā found in the *Vedas* an elucidation and explanation of certain abstruse problems of the *Kur'ān*, he cannot be condemned. Mīrzā Jānjānān *Maẓhar, Shahīd* (d. 1130=1717 A.D.), who was a very well-known saint of India has expressed practically the same views but he has not been condemned by any. He writes[2]: " . . . . . It appears from the ancient books of the Indians that the Divine Mercy, in the beginning of the creation of the human species, sent a Book, named the Bed (Veda), which is in four parts, in order to regulate the duties of this as well as the next world . . . . . . All the schools (of the Hindus) unanimously believe in the unity of the most high God; consider the world to be created; believe in the

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[1] Dr. Ethé writes in the *Catalogue of Pers. MSS. in the India Office Library* (c. 1089): "In the British Mus. copy it (i.e. *Bhagvat-Gīta*) is wrongly ascribed to Abû-al faḍl; the real translator was, as a note on fol. 1a in the present copy proves, prince Dārā Shukūh"

[2] Extracts from the life and teachings of Mīrzā Maẓhar, translated by the late Mawlawī 'Abdul Walī, J.A.S.B., Vol. XIX, pp. 238, 239.

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destruction of the world, in the reward for good and bad conduct; on the resurrection and accountability (of conduct) . . . . . The rules and regulations of their faith are fully and well arranged. So it is evident that it had been a good religion but abrogated. In Islamic *Shar* no mention of any other abrogated religions, save Judaism and Christianity, is made; whereas many other religions have undergone the process of obliteration and affirmation (i.e. changes).

It ought to be noted that according to the holy verse (of the Qur'ān): '*And there is not a people but a warner has from among them*' and also, '*And every nation had an apostle*,' and other verses, there were prophets also in the countries of Hindustan, on whom be peace, and their account is contained in the books of the Hindus . . . . . "

If the above views cannot amount to an apostasy from Islām, it is difficult to understand how Dārā Shikūh could have been condemned for expressing practically the same views.

His works and writings are before us and, on examining them, we can only state that he was a Muslim throughout and, being a Ṣūfī himself, expressed such views, which, though appearing as revolting at first sight, cannot have amounted to an apostasy from Islām. What to say of Dārā? If one cares to examine the works and writings of the most eminent Ṣūfīs one will find that their aphorisms and paradoxes are more condemnable than those of Dārā Shikūh. We find that Manṣūr was crucified, Shihābuddīn Suhrawardī executed and Sarmad put to death, but time has vindicated their honour. Today, they are hailed as martyrs and sufferers on the Path; and such is the case with Dārā. Time has vindicated his honour and, now, he is adored and admired by a large section of the Muslims as a prince who suffered death, not as an offender against Islām, but as one who fell a victim to the Imperialistic ambitions and aspirations of his wily, *faḳīr* brother.

But yet we find that Dārā Shikūh was indicted by the ecclesiasts of the court of Aurangzīb for his apostasy. According to *Maāthir-i-ʿĀlamgīrī*, the official history of Aurangzīb, the charge against him was that "The pillars of the Canonical Law and Faith apprehended many kinds of disturbances from his life. So the Emperor, both out of necessity to protect the Holy Law, *and also for reasons of State*, considered it unlawful to allow Dārā to remain alive any longer as

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a destroyer of the public peace."[1] But the above indictment is too meagre to need any comment. Anyone can choose to be the Champion of Islām and remove all those who stand in the way of the realization of his political ambitions.

Majma'-ul-Baḥrain.

This small tract is of supreme importance to a student of comparative religion as it embodies, so far as I know, the first and perhaps the last attempt of its kind to reconcile the two apparently divergent religions. It is the last original work of Dārā Shikūh and, as such, has an importance of its own. And, according to one authority,[2] it was this very work which brought about his death. It is said that this tract was laid before the ecclesiasts who declared its author a

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